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766● [765]

In the case of very young children the burial ceremony is different. There is no general mourning of the whole camp. Only the father and mother and a few other relatives weep over the dead body. The head of the corpse is shaved and the body is decorated in the same way as that of an adult. The body is wrapped up in palm leaves (*Licuala*), the limbs being flexed. The fire is then removed from its customary place and a grave is dug there in the floor of the hut. In this the child's body is placed, the grave is filled in and the fire replaced above it. Not only is the camp not deserted, but there seems to be an obligation on the parents not to leave the place until the bones have been dug up, or at any rate for some weeks after the death. If the mother went away, the natives say, the baby would cry for its mother's milk. This is the custom of the Northern tribes. Referring to the Southern tribes, Mr Man says that the baby is buried beneath the fireplace and the camp is then deserted, the mother placing beside the grave a shell containing some milk squeezed from her breasts. Some of my informants of the Southern tribes (*Akar-Bale*, etc.) told me however that the camp would not be deserted in the case of the death of an infant, thus contradicting Mr Man's statement. As there was no opportunity of testing the point by reference to an actual case, it must be left as doubtful. In the Northern tribes when an older child dies the body is buried away from the camp, but the latter is not, at any rate in all instances, deserted, though the hut in which the death occurred may be destroyed and a new one built a short distance away. It is only in the case of the death of an adult that the camp is abandoned.

In connection with the burial of a baby beneath the hearth there is a belief that the soul of the dead baby may re-enter the mother and be born again. This would seem to be one of the reasons why the mother does not leave the camp when her baby dies.

Should a person die while on a visit, he or she is buried in the usual way and news of the death and place of burial is sent to the relatives. A stranger who dies or is killed is buried unceremoniously or is cast into the sea. Among the Northern tribes the body of such a one used in former days to be disposed

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766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark
766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is
266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of
[152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Bale* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.
535 In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

161 The vital principle is at different times identified by the Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
775 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain
766 enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages.

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives.

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them.

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs.

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed.

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *â·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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766 two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

[775] 4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from 262 taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neighbours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to 165 abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

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764 corpse, whose limbs are folded and enwrapped in the manner above described.

9. What the true significance of this practice may be is not quite clear, as such of the aborigines as have been questioned assert that it is merely for convenience in removal; but since the custom is also observed in infant burials which, as I have mentioned, take place in the very hut wherein the death occurred, it seems probable that a deeper meaning underlies the act; and the real reason may be that which Peschel supplies in his reference to the Hottentots, who observe the same custom, *i.e.* "that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth."[1]

10. As it is not customary for females to attend the funeral, when *their* part is done, they gently blow upon the face, and take their last farewell look.

[766] 11. None save infants are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant and secluded spot in the jungle, and there interred or placed upon a "machán," or platform; it is generally arranged beforehand which of these two methods shall be employed, but the latter is considered the more complimentary, apparently because it involves a little more labour.[2]

12. Arrived at their destination, the corpse, which has been carried by one of the men on his back, is put down, while the final preparations are being made. A spot is selected where there is a boulder or large tree,[3] to mark it, and there, if a grave has been decided on, they dig a hole about 4 or 5 feet deep, with an adze (*wō'lo-*), into which the body is lowered in a sitting posture, facing the east; all present then raise the leaf covering the head, and take leave of their friend by blowing upon his face. Before the grave is filled in the cords or canes are cut, the object being to hasten the process of decomposition by loosening the leaves; a fire is lighted over the spot and a *gōb-*,[4] or nautilus shell, filled with water, as well as some article which belonged to the deceased, is placed beside it: then the surrounding brushwood for some little distance is cleared away, and *á'ra-* are suspended between the trees in the manner and for the purpose before stated.

13. Should it, however, have been determined to dispose of the corpse by the alternative method, a small stage is constructed

[1] This singular practice also prevailed amongst the ancient Peruvians (*vide* "Anthropology of Prehistoric Peru," by T. J. Hutchinson, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. iv, p. 447, 1875).

[2] Old persons are generally buried.

[3] They never wittingly use the same tree or spot a second time, and are careful to remember those which served on a former occasion.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82, and "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 269.

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765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàu·ga-lâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

[764] 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

766 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would never be in request.

761 24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū·ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life," has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains uncontradicted.

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761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the by-standers, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dū·tnga-*,[1] if *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*,[2] if it be *.jū·ru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jū·ru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

Meeting and Parting, &c.—1. Contrary to ·ne customs of most
576 races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.
[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.
[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.
[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."
[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.
[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

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172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus:—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

● [766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply